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Index of Names and Subjects in the 1944 Bibliography

Who is E. K.?

The "Broom-groves" in *The Tempest*

A Note on the "Late Eclipses" in *King Lear*

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The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1944)

Compiled by
SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM
and
DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which we thought contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1944 is to be understood. The discussion of a book, as opposed to an edition, is indicated by printing the title within single quotes and omitting 'ed' after the contributor's name. The following abbreviations have been employed:

Amer	—American
Archiv	—Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen
B	—Bulletin
Bei	—Beiblatt zur Anglia
bib	—bibliography
Bll	—Blätter
Bn	—Boston
comp	—compiler
CUP	—Cambridge University Press
d	—der, die, das, dem, &c.
DNS	—Die neueren Sprachen
dt	—deutsch, &c.
ed(d)	—editor(s)
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History
Elizn	—Elizabethan
Engl	—English, englische, &c.
ES	—Englische Studien
facs(s)	—facsimile(s)
fr	—from
GR	—Germanic Review
Hist	—History, Historie, Histoire
HLQ	—Huntington Library Quarterly
HUP	—Harvard University Press
il(s)	—illustration(s)
J	—Journal
JEGP	—Journal of English & Germanic Philology
JHI	—Journal of the History of Ideas
Lang	—Language
Libr	—Library
Lit	—Literature
Ln	—London
M	—Magazine
MLN	—Modern Language Notes
MLQ	—Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	—Modern Language Review
MP	—Modern Philology
NQ	—Notes & Queries
OUP	—Oxford University Press
Oxf	—Oxford
P	—Press
PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n of America
port(s)	—portrait(s)
p.p.	—privately printed
PQ	—Philological Quarterly
Pr	—Proceedings
Q	—Quarterly
R	—Review, Revue
Repr	—Reprinted, reprints
RES	—Review of English Studies
S & N	—Statesman & Nation
SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspere, &c
Shn	—Shaksperian
SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
SP	—Studies in Philology
TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
TLS	—Times Literary Supplement
trn	—translation
u	—und
U	—University
UP	—University Press

ACTING, ACTORS

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3. 18th-century acting styles.—A: M. Cook.—Phylon, 5: 219-24, Oct.

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5. K. R. Wallace's *F.B. on Communication & Rhetoric.*—R. H. Wagner; JEGP, 43: 366-68, July.—A. T. Shillinglaw; Mind, 53: 367-71, Oct.—F. R. Johnson; MLN, 59: 505-07, Nov.

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7. W. Raleigh & the Baconians.—C. L. E. Ewen; R. L. Eagle.—NQ, 186: 75, Jan. 29.
8. Sh & the Baconians.—J. D. R.; W. W. G.—NQ, 186: 121-22, Feb. 26.
9. The importance of the 'word cypher.' —C. Beaumont.—Baconiana, 28: 39-47; Apr., pl.
10. Some Sh doubts.—J. S. L. Millar.—Baconiana, 28: 48-55, Apr.
11. It doesn't matter who wrote the plays. —A. Hadman.—Baconiana, 28: 56-61, Apr.
12. Did 'Sh' die in 1616?—Baconiana, 28: 62-65, Apr.
13. I. Donnelly.—S. Holbrook.—N. Y. Times Book R, July 30, pp. 7 & 16, port.
14. Bacon, Spenser, & Sh.—R. L .Eagle.—Baconiana, 28: 36-38, Jan.
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16. The birth of the name 'Shake-spear.' —V: Bayley.—Baconiana, 28: 16-18, Jan.
17. Allusions & allegories.—A. A. Leith. —Baconiana, 28: 18-21, Jan.
18. Will Sh of Stratford.—A. Dodd.—Baconiana, 28: 25-29, Jan.
19. Sh, Bacon & popular fallacies.—H. S. Leftwich.—NQ, 187: 39-40, July 15.
20. Donnelly's cryptogram cypher re-examined.—C. Beaumont.—Baconiana, 28: 88-98 (July), 2 facss.
21. Sh as a gardener.—R. L. Eagle.—Baconiana, 28: 103-07, July.
22. The Baconian mysteries.—P. Pigott. —Rosicrucian Digest, 22: 96-98 & 108, Apr.
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24. Donnelly's cryptogram cipher re-examined.—Baconiana, 28: 128-36, Oct.
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26. F. Bacon & Gray's Inn.—P. Walters. —Baconiana, 28: 150-54, Oct., 2 ports.
27. Authorship of *Don Quixote.*—E. D. Johnson.—Baconiana, 28: 155-56, Oct.
28. Some character names in Sh's plays.—E: T. Clark.—Sh Fellowship Q, 5: 41-43, July.
29. The Stratford defendant compromised by his advocates.—L. Benezet.—Sh Fellowship Q, 5: 44-46, July.
30. The frauds & stealths of injurious impostors.—L. P. Benezet.—Sh Fellowship Q, 5: 2-6, Jan.
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40. *Sleep No More.*—A. Derleth, ed.—*M,* II, ii, 36.
41. *I'll Go to Bed at Noon.*—S. Haggard. —*KL,* III, vi, 92.
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43. *The Wind & the Rain.*—J: Horner.—*TN,* V, i, 402.
44. *[The] Hollow Men.*—B. Hutchison. —*JC,* IV, ii, 23.
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46. *Many a Watchful Night.*—J. M. Brown.—*2H4,* IV, v, 25.

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WHO IS E.K.?

By Dr. Raymond Jenkins

(Part II)

IF one assumes that the publication of the *Calendar* was a clever bit of self-advertising on Spenser's part, one must then inquire as to his purposes in editing his work under the pseudonym E.K. Craik presents the main advantage: "No one would know so well as the poet himself in all cases what to disclose and what to withhold, and he would perhaps be more likely therefore to perform the office himself than to intrust it to any friend."[28] Could any editor, however intimate with the poet, know so well as the poet himself what to reveal and what to conceal? The anonymity of E.K. enabled the poet to be forthright in expressing some of his convictions. The letter of E.K. to Harvey, for instance, seems virtually what Spenser would say in defending the archaism of the *Calendar*. The editorial apparatus of E.K. also enabled Spenser to give utterance to his convictions regarding the high ends of poetry. So closely, in fact, does the literary theory of the *Calendar* correspond with Spenser's known position that virtually every editor who assumes that E.K. was a living friend of Spenser admits that Spenser was frequently at E.K.'s elbow, and that Spenser alone could have written some notes of the Gloss.

But the mask of E.K. also enabled Spenser to leave much unexplained. Much that is hidden merely mystifies and piques the curiosity of the reader. Other concealments or affectations of ignorance were apparently devised to protect the poet. To conceal the sources of the eclogues, for example, was a device to lead the reader a merry chase, for only readers who "be wel sented can trace him out."[29] To feign ignorance regarding the object of the poet's attack on abuses in church or court was necessary to protect the poet from fine or imprisonment, for it is obvious that Spenser is often shooting at big game. The pseudonym enabled the poet to intimate that an offensive passage was merely aimed at common abuses, or that it concerned a convenient scapegoat. The mask also enabled Spenser either to be wisely silent or

to disclaim all satiric intention by affecting ignorance. Spenser could not afford to offend the queen; therefore, in dealing with Grindal, as Professor Herford admits, E.K. was discreet and silent with a purpose. Knowing that Spenser's ecclesiastical position, as Professor Judson has pointed out,[30] was identical with that of Young and Grindal, we are warranted in assuming that some few of E.K.'s references to Roman Catholics are a blind, that the attacks in the ecclesiastical eclogues are directed not merely against Jesuits but also against dignitaries of the Anglo-Catholic Church. The feigned ignorance of E.K., in fact, is precisely what one would expect if Spencer were E.K. and if he were doing his utmost to cover his tracks.

Professor Dodge, the editor of Spenser's complete works, says that E.K. has in several places plainly misunderstood the text. This misleading statement requires much qualification. One may, indeed, aver that E.K. never misunderstands the text unless the misunderstanding is so trivial as to be an oversight or so gross as to be unquestionably deliberate. For E.K.'s ignorance of the obvious is too fatuous to be real. Consider, for instance, E.K.'s apparent ignorance of the persons involved in *September,* the tale of Roffy and Lowder: "This tale of Roffy seemeth to coloure some particular action of his. But what, I certeinlye know not." Knowing as we do that Roffy was John Young, the Bishop of Rochester, and that Spenser was his secretary, can we doubt that the events recounted in this eclogue took place under Spenser's very nose? Can we not be certain that E.K. was deliberately feigning ignorance? Is it not remarkable that E.K. always conceals what Spenser would consider it discreet and politic to conceal?

By the mask of E.K., Spenser is not only exhibiting his fondness for pseudonyms, such as Immerito and Colin Clout, but he is also exhibiting his ingenuity in carrying out a pre-determined and consistent dramatic role. For if the poet wished to conceal the fact that he was the writer of the Gloss, would he not, as an artist, do his utmost to make the illusion complete? Spenser therefore endeavors to individualize E.K., to give him a separate personality. And he has succeeded so well that Professor Renwick, the latest

editor of the *Calendar* feels, he says, "the contact of a different, a less flexible mind."[31]

How would Spenser make E.K. appear to be a definite personality? Obviously he would try to make it clear that E.K. acquired much information from the poet himself, but that E.K. was responsible for the ideas of the Gloss and that he was writing independently. E.K.'s notes therefore must be made to appear those which a well-informed and educated editor would write; occasionally they would exhibit apparent ignorance of the poet's intention and would appear to differ from the poet's expressed belief or practice. Now what does E.K. do?

E.K. feigns to be a close and intimate friend. He edits the poem instead of the poet because the poet himself is for a "long time furre estraunged." This device of implying that Spenser was away from London and that he therefore could not write the notes is only one of the blinds of E.K., which fail to square with the facts of Spenser's life as we know them. In its revelations and in its blind spots, the commentary of E.K. is deftly graduated to his editorial role. One would not, for instance, expect E.K. to know the precise pastoral poem that Spenser is imitating; and frequently he appears to be very ignorant. E.K. declares in the epistle to Harvey that Spenser's sources are the main pastoral writers and divers Italian and French poets. But he usually cites Theocritus or Virgil instead of Mantuan or Marot. Mantuan is Spencer's model in *October,* Mantuan and Marot in *November,* and Marot in *December,* yet E.K. intimates that Theocritus and Virgil are the prime sources.[32] The choice of Spenser's pastoral name Colin Clout was obviously suggested to him by Skelton's *Colin Cloute,* the poem in which Skelton satirized the court of Henry VIII. Yet E.K. must appear to know little about Skelton; he merely remarks: "yet have I sene a Poesie of M. Skelton under that title." Also, in identifying the pastoral characters, E.K. either assumes that the reader knows or he professes unconscionable ignorance. He assumes that Rosalind is well-known, yet no one has ever been able to establish her identity. But in *November* he writes of Dido: "The personage is secrete, and to me altogether unknowne, albe

of himselfe [the author] I often required the same." Again, in the gloss of *November* he writes of Roffy, who is John Young, the Bishop of Rochester: "The person both of the shephearde and of Dido is unknowen, and closely buried in the author's conceipt." E.K., in fact, would have it appear that he knows less about Roffy than about the eclogues of Marot. The gloss of *September* identifies Roffy as "The name of a shephearde in Marot his Aiglogue of Robin and the Kine." Even in this reference to Marot, as Renwick points out, E.K.'s memory is playing him false, for "Marot's Roffy is mentioned not in the *Eclogue au Roy* but in the *Complainct de Madame Loyse de Savoye.*"

But are not many of these notes in which E.K. feigns ignorance palpable blinds? If E.K. were such a close friend of Spenser, could he have avoided knowing about Spenser's relations with Dr. John Young, the Bishop of Rochester, who was at this time his employer, his friend, and patron? Of such blatant ignorance of E.K., Renwick in his *Commentary* writes: "Perhaps he [E.K.] was telling the truth —though commentators always assume he was lying when his statements do not suit their preconceptions." But might not the skeptical reader of the Gloss rejoin that it seems unlikely that E.K. would be informed about the unpublished works of Harvey as well as minutiae of the author's poetry and yet so naively ignorant of biographical facts which would have been common knowledge to an intimate friend of Spenser? How can the student of the *Calender* avoid assuming that these gross professions of ignorance are merely adapted to E.K.'s editorial role? Are not these remarks of E.K., like the profession of ignorance in the General Argument: "A few onely [eclogues] except whose special purpose I am not privie to", mere canards to conceal his identity?

E.K.'s feigning of ignorance enables Spenser to safeguard himself by plausible, though inadequate, interpretations. In the ecclesiastical eclogue of *May,* for instance, E.K. tells us that the kid is the simple and true Christian, the kid's dame is Christ, and the fox the false and faithless Papists. Superficially, this interpretation seems acceptable. But is it not likely that Spenser, if he could have spoken

out, would have given a more significant rendering of the allegory? Would he not have identified the kid with the young Anglican Church, the dame with mother England, and the fox with the intriguing Anglo-Catholic clergy with Roman leanings? Though the satire was so direct that worldly-wise readers could take intense pleasure in the poet's exposure of ecclesiastical abuses, the mask of E.K. enabled Spenser to give such an innocuous and general interpretation in the Gloss that even those whom the poet inveighed against either would not or could not afford to take offense.

Both Renwick and Herford have argued that E.K.'s depreciation of Marot supports their position that E.K. is not Spenser. In the gloss of *January* E.K. writes: "The word Colin is French and used of the French poete Marot (if he be worthy of the name of a Poete)" and in *November* E.K. declares the poetry of this eclogue "farre passing his [Marot's] reache." Both Herford and Renwick think that gentle Spenser, even in the guise of E.K., would never have been so ungracious. Besides, the argument runs, is it not anomalous that E.K. should speak so slightingly and yet the poet should take Marot as a model in several eclogues? Renwick and Herford would admit, of course, that E.K. is also inconsistent since he includes Marot among the famous poets in the epistle to Harvey. But there are some good reasons for Spenser's depreciation through the dramatic role of E.K. As E.K., Spencer can afford to exalt Harvey and himself at the expense of Marot. Also, since he does not wish to advertise his great debt, he can either not refer at all to the pastoral that he is imitating, or he can make his references so off-hand as to give the impression that his debt is slight. Through E.K., Spenser can also express his actual opinion of his own poetry. His praise of the poetic quality of *November,* "farre passing his [Marot's] reache, and in myne opinion all other Eglogues of this booke," appears to be the poet's earnest conviction. Renwick's charge, moreover, that "such ungraciousness is hardly likely from Spenser himself" is beside the point.[38] No Englishman in 1579 would incur the charge of discourtesy, or lower himself in the esteem of Protestant readers, by depreciation of Marot. Englishmen were still mindful of the horror of the massacre of St. Bartholomew; they would not object to dispraise of the turncoat Marot, because his memory was still odious.

The affected distaste of E.K. for alliteration is again an indication that the poet is playing up to a dramatic role, despite the fact that Dr. Herford has interpreted it as an argument for the separate identity of E.K. In his *Letter-book*[34] Harvey also makes fun of those who hunt the letter, but his poetry is replete with alliteration. This affected condemnation of E.K. occurs in the gloss of *October* under *lofty love*: "I think this playing with the letter to be rather a fault than a figure, as well in our English tongue, as it hath bene alwayes in the Latine, called Cacozelon." Fond of parading his learning, E.K. mocks alliteration for the same reason that he would 'scorne and spue out the rake-hellye route of our ragged rymers'.[35] This alliterative jibe indicates that E.K., like Spenser, would condemn the "rake-hellye route" not so much for their alliteration as for their lack of learning, their failure to write lines which were "well grounded, finely framed and strongly trussed up together."[36] All of the compositions of E.K., like the prose of Spenser, bear the stamp of the confirmed alliterator. Consider the dedication of the letter to Harvey: "his verie special and singular good frend E.K. commendeth the good lyking of this his labour and the patronage of the new Poete." Note the hunting of the letter in the Argument of *February*: "Then in our bodies there is a dry and withering cold, which congealeth the crudled blood, and frieseth the weatherbeaten flesh with stormes of Fortune, & hoare frosts of care." Note likewise the Argument in *May*: "he telleth a tale of the Foxe, that by such a counterpoynt of craftiness deceived and devoured the credulous Kidde."

The anomalies of the *Calendar* with respect to E.K.'s depreciation of Marot and his feigned distaste for alliteration are easily explained if we assume that the poet is writing under the pseudonym E.K. These apparent inconsistencies in the positions of Spenser and E.K. constitute no tangible support for the view of Professors Herford and Renwick that E.K. and Spenser are separate personalities. But there is one instance of misinterpretation of E.K.'s Gloss in the editions of Herford and Renwick. It arises from the fact that each thought that E.K. was actually a friend of Spenser. In the *July* eclogue E.K. glosses *Our*

Ladyes bowre as "a place of pleasure so called." Now *July* is an ecclesiastical eclogue whose earthly setting, where it is not Arcadian, is Kent. In his "Biographical Sketch of John Young, Bishop of Rochester", Dr. A. C. Judson says: "Among students of Spenser, the conviction is steadily growing that the *Calender* was composed largely, and perhaps entirely, during Spenser's service with Young. No fewer than seven of the eclogues contain passages that seem to connect their composition with this period."[37] Young's episcopal seat in Kent during this period was not at Rochester but at Bromley. Hence for "our Ladyes bowre," the "place of pleasure" of E.K., one would look to Bromley, and one would tend to identify it with the "St. Brigets bowre" of which

> All Kent can rightly boaste.

Dr. Leicester Bradner thinks "our Ladyes bowre" is the famous shrine in the Bishop's park at Bromley known as St. Blaze's Well.[38] And this identification seems entirely acceptable. But Professor Herford annotates E.K.'s note on *Our Ladyes Bowre* as "a plain misunderstanding" and says: "Spenser means Mantuan's Laureta, the House of the Virgin at Loretto, a renowned shrine and the scene of many miracles." Professor Renwick writes: "This is Mantuan's Laureta, the Holy House of Loretto, in spite of E.K.'s note." Even though Dr. Renwick admits that Spenser departs from Mantuan and "naturalizes when he can", both he and Dr. Herford were so obsessed with Spenser's imitation of Mantuan that they looked to an Italian rather than an English setting for an identification of "our Ladyes bowre," whereas both Spenser and E.K. were thinking of an English shrine, probably St. Blaze's Well in the Bishop's Park at Bromley.

Though this misinterpretation is noteworthy, Dr. D. T. Starnes in "E.K.'s Allusions Reconsidered"[39] has shown that modern editors of the *Calender* have misled readers in citing only the ultimate classical sources of the Gloss of E.K. Dr. Starnes has proved that E.K. virtually copied his accounts of many myths from contemporary works of reference. He has shown, for instance, that E.K. for the notes on *Flora* (*March* 16), *Latonaes seede* (*April* 86-7), *The*

Graces (*April* 100), *Cloris* (*April* 122), *Geaunte* (*May* 142), *Who Ida Paris* (*July* 146), and *Argus* (*July* 159) copied almost verbatim the entries in the *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (1565) of Bishop Thomas Cooper. For the note on *Maias bowre* (*March* 17) E.K. consulted the dictionary of Robert and Charles Stephanus;[40] for the notes on *Wild Yvie* (*October* 133) and *Melpomene* (*November* 53), he probably took over the accounts in Friar Calepine's dictionary. For the note on *Calliope* (*April* 100) E.K. seems to have read both Calepine and Cooper. Though E.K. may have read other works of reference, Dr. Starnes has demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that E.K. "had frequent resort to contemporary dictionaries" and that he is heavily indebted to Bishop Cooper's *Thesaurus.*

But this fact is not startling; nor does it prove that E.K. is Spenser. But two observations by Dr. Starnes make for the identity of E.K. and Spenser. The first is that "the conceptions given by E.K. in his glosses on *Flora, Niobe, Atlas,* the *Graces* seem to persist in the *Faerie Queene.*"[41] This fact, together with the duplication of errors, misconceptions, and stories of E.K. in the poetry of Spenser, I shall demonstrate anon. But the second observation is significant. Dr. Starnes believes that these lines of *October*

> Who ever casts to compasse weightye prise,
> And thinkes to throwe out thondering words of threate,
> Let powre in lavish cups and thriftie bitts of meate,
> For Bacchus fruite is frend to Phoebus wise;
> And when with Wine the braine begins to sweate,
> The nombers flowe as fast as spring doth ryse.

were inspired by this entry under *Bacchus* in Charles Stephanus' *Dictionarium*: . . . Hunc [Bacchum] Musarum comitem censurerunt: quia vini calor excitet ingenium: nam & disertos & audaces, & fortes faciunt vini meracioris pocula, teste Horatio,

> Faecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
> Idem & nudus & semper iuvenis habitus est,

quod arcana effutiant facile vino madidi.

Now E.K., Dr. Starnes believes, did not go to Horace

but derived his note *"lavish cups* Resembleth that comen verse Faecundi calices quem non facere disertum" from the same entry in Stephanus. Dr. Starnes thinks that Spenser's "lavish cups" was inspired by "meracioris pocula" or "Faecundi calices", and that

> And when with Wine the braine begins to sweate,
> The nombers flowe as fast as spring doth ryse,

by "arcana effutiant facile vino madidi." If one accepts the view that this is an instance of first-hand inspiration of Spenser as well as the view that Stephanus was a first-hand source for E.K., the probability then appears strong that Spenser and E.K. were identical. It seems unlikely that poet and commentator, if they were different persons, would be definitely inspired by the same account in a Latin dictionary.

In his edition of the *Calender* Professor Renwick says he believes that *July* and *October* show that Spenser had his Mantuan with the gloss of Badius by him as he wrote. Renwick's *Commentary* likewise indicates not only that Mantuan was a source for Spenser but also that the comment of Badius on Mantuan was a source for both Spenser and E.K. Though E.K. in his gloss to *July* does not refer to Mantuan at all, Renwick points out that *July* is an imitation of Mantuan's seventh and eighth eclogues. Renwick thinks that three of E.K.'s notes on *July*—the long notes on *Whom Ida, A Lasse,* and *His Name*—"almost reproduce the note of Badius on the place in Mantuan".[42] Of the lines in *October*:

> So praysen babes the Peacocks spotted traine,
> And wondren at bright Argus blazing eye:

Renwick writes: "this couplet shows that Spenser had his Mantuan by him as he wrote, since it comes from Juvenal vii, 30-32, which Badius quotes in his gloss on line 5 of Mantuan's eclogue:

> Spes nulla ulterior; didicet nam dives avarus
> Tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos
> Ut pueri Iunonis avem.

id est, pavonem admirantur et laudant: qui laudato nihil

porrigunt.[43] Is it not strange, if one accepts the view that Spenser and E.K. are two persons, that a commentator on Mantuan should be a source for both Spenser and E.K.?

Besides these evidences of common inspiration of both Spenser and E.K. by contemporary dictionaries and by the gloss of Badius on Mantuan, there are several passages in the Spenser-Harvey Letters which indicate that E.K. was so familiar with Spenser's inmost thoughts that he was verily Spenser's second self. In the letter dated at the end October 5, 1579, Spenser writes: "Maister E.K. hartily desireth to be commended vnto your Worshippe: of whome, what accompte he maketh, youre selfe shall hereafter perceiue, by hys paynefull and dutifull Verses of your selfe." These "paynefull and dutifull Verses," in the opinion of Craik,[44] may be the long Latin poem addressed to Harvey by Spenser under the pseudonym Immerito, and, supposedly, transmitted to Harvey in the same letter. Now, these "wittie, familiar letters," whose "Wellwiller" was "made acquainted with . . . at the fourthe or fifte hande . . . by meanes of a faithfull friende who with muche entreaty had procured the copying of them oute, at Immeritos hands," illustrate ideally the sundry stratagems of Hobbinol and Immerito to advertize themselves. Therefore, Craik's identification of the "paynefull . . . Verses" with the Latin poem appears quite tenable. As students of the *Calender* have pointed out, there are also two passages in the Spenser-Harvey Letters so strikingly similar to passages in E.K.'s Gloss that the reader suspects that E.K. and Spenser are one person. In the gloss of *April* E.K. writes: "*Bay branches* be the signe of honor & victory, & therefore of myghty Conquerors worn in theyr triumphes, & eke of famous Poets, as saith Petrarch in hys Sonets.

> Arbor vittoriosa triomphale
> Honor D'Imperadori & di Poëti, &c."

These lines of Petrarch are quoted in Harvey's third letter to Spenser. To encourage Spenser, Harvey writes: "Thinke uppon *Petrarches*

> Arbor vittoriosa, triomfale,
> Onor d'Imperadori, e di Poete:

and perhappes it will aduaunce the wynges of your Imagination a degree higher." Harvey of course would know whether E.K. were a mere pseudonym, and he here clearly takes for granted Spenser's familiarity with the verses which E.K. quotes. The second passage which is duplicated is more striking and has often been interpreted as conclusive evidence of the identity of E.K. and Spenser. In the gloss of *May* E.K. renders two lines of Cicero thus:

> All that I eate did I ioye, and all that I greedily gorged:
> As for those many goodly matters left I for others.

In the letter to Harvey dated April 2, 1580, Spenser cites four of his Latin quantitative verses and then asks: "Seeme they comparable to those two, which I translated you *ex tempore* in bed, the last time we lay togither in Westminster?

> That which I eate, did I ioy, and that which I greedily gorged,
> As for those many goodly matters leaft I for others."

They who think with Herford that the striking similarity between the translation of E.K. and the impromptu rendering of Spenser is an instance of "agreements . . . such as can well exist between intimate friends" hardly satisfy the sceptical reader. Does not this coincidence in translation into English quantitative verse support the view that one person only is the translator?

There are several other bits of evidence, besides those in the Spenser-Harvey Letters, that Spenser and E.K. were identical. Many errors in eclogues and Gloss are curiously identical; naturally, these errors indicate the individual authorship of eclogue and Gloss. The first outstanding error involves ignorance by both Spenser and E.K. of the signs of the zodiac. Lines 13-16 of *November* read thus:

> But nowe sadde Winter welked hath the day,
> And Phoebus wary of his yerely taske,
> Ystabled hath his steedes in lowlye laye
> And taken up his ynne in Fishes haske,

E.K. thus glosses *In fishes haske*: "the sonne, reigneth that is, in the signe Pisces all November. A haske is a wicker pad, wherein they use to carry fish." All recent editors have,

of course, noted this error of both E.K. and Spenser, that the sun is in Pisces in February and not in November. Professor Renwick argues at length that the reason for the error is that Spenser originally intended the November eclogue for February.[45] Though Colin boasts in December:

> I learned als the signes of heaven to ken
> How Phoebe fayles, where Venus sittes, and when,

this error does not astonish us, for Harvey declared that Spenser knew little about astronomy. But is it not surprising that the editor E.K. is equally ignorant?

The fact that the same mind is at work in both the poetry and the gloss of the *Calender* is supported by the repetition of an antithetic idea which is a favorite theme in Spenser. Diggon's emblem in September, *Inopem me copia fecit,* is thus glossed by E.K.:

> This is a saying of Narcissus in Ovid. For when the foolishe boye by beholding hys face in the brooke, fell in loue with his owne likenesse: and not hable to content him selfe with much looking thereon, he cryed out, that plentye made him poore meaning that much gazing had bereft him of sence. But our Diggon vseth it to other purpose, as who that by tryall of many wayes had founde the worst, and through greate plentye was fallen into great penurie. This poesie I knowe, to haue bene much vsed of the author, and to such like effecte, as fyrste Narcissus spake it.

E.K. is certainly correct in his assertion that "this poesie" had "bene much used of the author." In the thirty-fifth sonnet of the *Amoretti* these lines appear:

> In their amazement lyke Narcissus vaine,
> Whose eyes him starv'd: so plenty makes me poore.

Also, in the description of Avarice in the Masque of the Seven Deadly Sins, a part of the *Faerie Queene* which had doubtless already been written, the poesy appears again:[46]

> Whose welth was want, whose plenty made him pore.

If Spenser were taken by this theme, surely no one would know that fact as well as he.

A story about Helen in the gloss of *April* is again told in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe.* E.K. writes that Rosalind deserves to be ..

> commended to immortalitie for her rare and singular Vertues" as much as "Myrto the most excellent Poete Theocritus his dearling, or Lauretta the diuine Petrarches Goddesse, or Himera the worthye Poete Stesichorus hys Idole: Vpon whom he is sayd so much to haue doted, that in regard of her excellencie, he scorned & wrote against the beauty of Helena. For which his praesumptuous and vnheedie hardinesse, he is sayde by vengaunce of the Gods, thereat being offended, to haue lost both his eyes.

This story of the blindness of the poet reappears in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*:

> And well I wrote, that oft I heard it spoken,
> How one that fairest Helene did reuile:
> Through iudgement of the Gods to been ywroken
> Lost both his eyes and so remaynd long while,
> Till he recanted had his wicked rimes,
> And made amends to her with treble praise.[47]

That Spenser and E.K. are familiar with the same stories from the classics is, of course, no proof that E.K. is Spenser. But evidence of their identity is provided by the many variations from classic myth in the eclogues of the *Calender* which are duplicated in E.K.'s Gloss. These singular variations likewise often reappear in Spenser's poetry.[48]

Professor Starnes has shown that the immediate source for notes of E.K. such as those on *Flora* in *March* and *Latonaes seede* in *April* is not classical but the *Thesaurus* of Bishop Thomas Cooper. This same conception of Flora reappears in the first book of the *Faerie Queene*.[49] Another confusion, for which Cooper and Stephanus are doubtless responsible, is E.K.'s identification of Bellona with Pallas. In *October* after *queint* appears the note: "Bellona, the goddesse of battaile, that is Pallas." Now in Cooper's *Thesaurus,* as Dr. Starnes points out, E.K. might have found, "Bellona, the goddesse of bataile" and in Stephanus' dictionary:

> Bellona, belli dea, & Martis soror
> Vocatur etiam Enyo & Pallas.

Another variation from classical myth of both Spenser and E.K. concerns Orpheus' recovery of his wife Eurydice. According to Ovid, Virgil, and Milton, Eurydice was only "half-regained". But Spenser implies the recovery of Eury-

dice without condition in *October* (28-30) and in these lines of the *Ruines of Time*:

> And they the muses for pittie of the sad wayment
> Which Orpheus for Eurydice did make
> Her back againe to life sent for his sake.[50]

In the *October* gloss E.K. writes of Orpheus: "he recouered his wife Eurydice from hell". The source of the confusion by Spenser and E.K. is doubtless Cooper's unconventional statement that the Thracian musician "recovered his wife Eurydice out of hell".

The fact that both poet and gloss-writer utilize the same sources suggests, though it does not prove, that they are identical. But there are variations from classic myth in the Gloss and in other poems of Spenser for which there is no apparent source. They are unquestionable errors. In other words E.K. mangles the mythology of the Gloss, and Spenser makes identical errors in his poetry. For instance, Professor Starnes has pointed out that E.K. and Spenser are equally careless of classical tradition in making Apollo, not Jove, the father of the Muses.[51] In the gloss of *April* E.K. after *Virgins* writes: "the nine Muses, daughters of Apollo and Memorie". In the first lines of the *Teares of the Muses,* Spenser apostrophizes the

> . . . sacred sisters nine,
> The golden brood of great Apolloes wit.

In the *Epithalamion* and thrice in the *Faerie Queene,* Apollo and Memory are the parents of the Muses. A more glaring confusion of both E.K. and Spenser is their identification of Persephone, the Roman Proserpina, the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, with Tisiphone, one of the Furies. In the gloss of *November* E.K. annotates *Furies*: "of Poetes feyned to be three, Persephone, Alecto and Megera, which are sayd to be the Authours of all euill and mischiefe." In *Virgils Gnat* Spenser thus translates the *Culex*:

> There grim Persephone encountring mee,
> Doth urge her fellow Furies earnestlie,
> With their bright firebronds me to terrifie.[52]

and in *The Teares of the Muses* Spenser again confuses Persephone with Tisiphone in the lines:

> So all with rufull spectacles is fild
> Fit for Megera or Persephone.[53]

How both Spenser and E.K. could have been similarly confused, unless they were one person, is hard to imagine.[54]

But doubtless the most conspicuous example of muddled mythology is the confusion by both Spenser and E.K. of the legends connected with Lethe and the river Styx. This fusion of two legends is identical in Gloss and *Calender,* the *Ruines of Time,* and the *Faerie Queene.* In annotating *Lethe* in *March,* E.K. says: *"Lethe* is a lake in hell, which the Poetes call the lake of forgetfulness. . . . Wherein the soules being dipped, did forget the cares of their former lyfe." The lines of *March* that concern Lethe are:

> Tho will we little Loue awake,
> That nowe sleepeth in Lethe lake.[55]

Those in the *Ruines of Time* are:

> For not to have been dipt in Lethe lake,
> Could save the sonne of Thetis from to die.[56]

In the *Faerie Queene* Spenser again mentions "Lethe lake":

> Henceforth his ghost, freed from repining strife,
> In peace may passen over Lethe lake.[57]

Now these passages illustrate two errors which are common to both Spenser and E.K. (1) Lethe is called a lake and (2) immersion in it is held to cause forgetfulness. According to classic myth, Lethe is a river and souls drank of it. Spenser obviously confused Lethe with the Styx, for the incident of Achilles being dipped in the river Styx by his mother is referred to in the lines cited from the *Ruines of Time.*[58] But would E.K., if he were not the poet, make this same error and also fuse these two legends in identical fashion?

[*To Be Concluded*]

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[28] *Op. cit.,* p. 34.

[29] E. K.'s introductory epistle to Harvey. On E. K.'s feigning, cf. A. D. Kuersteiner, *op. cit.,* pp. 140-141.

[30]A. C. Judson, "A Biographical Sketch of John Young, Bishop of Rochester, with Emphasis on his Relations with Edmund Spenser," *Indiana University Studies,* vol. 21, Study No. 103 (March, 1934).

[31]*Op. cit.,* p. 172.

[32]With reference to E. K.'s first sentence in the gloss of *October,* "This Aeglogue is made in imitation of Theocritus his xvi. Idilion," Professor Mustard (*Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus* (1911) p. 135) writes: "This comment is misleading, and must have been intended to be misleading. Spenser's indebtedness to Theocritus is exceedingly slight; but it would doubtless be more impressive to refer one of his poems to a Greek model than to the 'homely Carmelite'."

[33]*Op. cit.,* p. 180. The parenthesis of E. K., "if he be worthy of the name of a Poete," should, to my mind, be interpreted mainly as a moral rather than a poetical judgment. For further refutation of Herford, see A. D. Kuersteiner, *op. cit.,* pp. 149-150.

[34]Pp. 100-101.

[35]Introductory epistle of E. K. to Harvey.

[36]E. K.'s position in the letter to Harvey is precisely identical with that of Spenser in the *Teares of The Muses.*

[37]Pp. 20-21.

[38]*MLN,* 49 (1934), 443.

[39]*S P* 39 (April, 1942), 143-59.

[40]*Dictionarium, Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum* (1561).

[41]*Op. cit.* p. 159. Besides this article, Dr. Starnes has recently published two other articles: "Spenser and the Graces", *P. Q.* 21 (July, 1942) 268-282; and "Spenser and the Muses", *Studies in English* (University of Texas, July 8, 1942) No. 4226, pp. 31-58. In the first article Professor Starnes proves that Spenser was quite as familiar as E. K. with contemporary dictionaries, that the articles on *Charities* in Bishop Cooper's *Thesaurus* and Charles Stephanus' *Dictionarium* were almost certainly the primary sources for all that Spenser wrote about the Graces. The use of the *froward* meaning *Fromward in F. Q.* 6. 10. 24. 7 and nowhere else in Spenser, which appears unquestionably taken from Cooper's *fromwarde,* is almost conclusive evidence that Cooper is Spenser's source. In the second article Dr. Starnes proves that Spenser's *Teares of the Muses* was apparently inspired by a careful reading of the passage on the relation of the Muses to learning, to poetic inspiration, and to the laurel crown in the *Thesaurus* of Robert Stephanus. In this article he also shows that E. K. in the *Calender* and Spenser in all his work regarded Calliope as the muse of heroic poetry, that Calliope is therefore the muse of the *Faerie Queene.*

[42]*Op. cit.,* p. 206.

[43]*Ibid.,* p. 217.

[44]*Op. cit.,* p. 34.

[45]*Op. cit., Commentary,* p. 226. For further comment on this error, see A. D. Kuersteiner, *op. cit.,* p. 144.

[46]I. iv, 29.

[47]Spenser doubtless writes "oft I heard it spoken" to indicate that the story is very familiar because he could have read it in contemporary works of reference as well as in sundry volumes with which he was familiar. Professor Renwick points out that it appears in Plato's *Phaedrus,* in Bembo's *Asolani,* and in Castiglione's *Corteggiano.* In Hoby's translation of *Il Corteggiano* appears the side-note: "A notable Poet which lost his sight for writing against Helena, and recanting had his sight restored him again." In his study of the *Calender* (*PMLA* 26 (1911), 419-51) Professor Greenlaw regards the reappearance of E. K.'s story in *Colin Clout* as evidence that Spenser was hiding his identity under the pseudonym E. K.

[48]These departures from classic myth can not be adequately explained by the argument that Spenser and E. K. used as sources the same contemporary works of reference. In some instances the dictionaries of Cooper and Stephanus may account for the departure of both E. K. and Spenser from the conventional story. But in

other instances both E. K. and Spenser err, and there appears to be no work of reference which may be considered the source of the badly mangled classic myths of both Spenser and E. K.

[49]I. 1. 48.

[50]L1. 390-92. The non-classical transference of the name Helicon from the mountain to the well in both the eclogue and the gloss of *April* indicates, as Professor Renwick notes (*Commentary* p. 192), that both Spenser and E. K. were following the medieval tradition of Chaucer and Lydgate.

[51]"Spenser and the Muses", *Studies in Eng.* (Univ. of Texas, 1942), No. 4226, p. 33.

[52]L1. 422-424.

[53]L1. 163-164.

[54]The reason for Spenser's confusion of Persephone with Tisiphone is explained by Dr. Renwick (p. 226): "The mistake probably arises from Virgil's *Culex,* 260, where one might expect *Tisiphone* in place of Persephone, and in translation of which Spenser speaks of her fellow furies."

[55]L1. 22-23.

[56]L1. 428-429.

[57]I. iii, 36, 5-6.

[58]Possibly Spenser's error arose, as Dr. Renwick notes (p. 189), from Virgil's use of *lacus* for Styx in *Aeneid, VI.*

THE "BROOM-GROVES" IN *THE TEMPEST*

By Thomas P. Harrison, Sr.

SHAKSPERE'S only use of *broom-groves* occurs in *The Tempest,* IV, i, 66, where Iris, in the masque, addresses Ceres:

> . . . and thy broom-groves,
> Whose shadow the dismissëd bachelor loves,
> Being lasslorn; . . .

The rejected suitor, in his desolation, follows his strongest impulse—to be alone, hidden away from sight and sound of others. But why in broom-groves? How could a grove—"a group of trees without underwood"—furnish the seclusion sought by the "dismissëd bachelor"? "Broom" creates further difficulty since the interpretation given avowedly, or tacitly by failing to suggest an alternative, by scores of editors is that "broom" is the Scottish, or British, broom. The problem is how could this broom, a shrub growing only "two and a half or three feet tall," form a grove, or cast a shadow to conceal the disconsolate lover?

The only emendation so far suggested and inserted in editions of *The Tempest* is "brown groves," by Sir Thomas Hanmer. The Furness *Variorum* edition names (p. 201) four editors who use this conjectural emendation, as against some forty (p. 451) who do not.

The *Variorum* note on *broom-groves* contains many suggestions on the meaning of *broom* as broom of Scotland—or of Britain, meaning the same—, for or against; but the only one apparently meeting Furness's approbation is by W. N. Lettsom:

> "Lettsom (ap. Dyce, *Gloss.*): 'Is the word *grove* ever applied to a shrub by the Elizabethan writers? Hanmer's "*brown* groves" has been before the public for more than a century, and has been vigorously assailed by men of eminent learning and ability, but no instance of this [i.e. of *grove* applied to shrubs] has been produced, and therefore I conclude that none exists. The notion of disconsolate lovers betaking themselves to groves is common enough in poetry; Shakespeare himself has placed Romeo in a sycamore grove when Rosaline was cruel, and we may judge from this the sort of

> grove he would select for young gentlemen in the like case. Till it can be shown that a growth of broom may be called a grove, it seems idle to dispute about the height of the shrub. In Babington's botany it is said to be 2½ or 3 feet high, and this is certainly the height to which it grows on Hamstead Heath, though occasionally a plant may be found taller; I am told that in Italy it grows to the height of 6 or 7 feet, but that surely is no great matter.—The defenses set up for [Italics mine] *the old reading* [broom-groves] appear to me singularly weak. . . . As to Halliwell's 300 Saracens hid in a broom field, the last word (*field*) is surely incompatible with groves." So of "an American account of 3,000 rebels [sic] concealed in a thick undergrowth and wheat fields. This, however, would not warrant such a phrase as *wheat-groves.*"

Even Lettsom, Dyce,—and Furness (?)—would have solved the problem by emending "the old reading," though the four Folios all have—see the *Variorum—broome-groves.*

The line in question implies the feeling and procedure of *dismissëd* bachelors generally. Shakspere, in the passage to which Lettsom refers, gives this procedure specifically: *Romeo and Juliet,* I, i, 124ff, after Rosaline had cruelly dismissed Romeo as a lover.

Benvolio speaking to Lady Montague:

> *Ben*[*volio*]. Madam, an hour before the worshipp'd sun
> Peer'd forth the golden window of the East,
> A troubled mind drave me to walk abroad;
> Where, underneath the grove of sycamore,
> That westward rooteth from the city's side,
> So early walking did I see your son [Romeo]:
> Towards him I made; but he was ware of me,
> And stole into the covert of the wood:—

Here is a "dismissëd bachelor," as Shakspere conceived him, in his distress.

A passage not cited by Lettsom, with closely parallel pertinence, is found in *Love's Labour's Lost,* V, ii, 89-95.

> *Boyet.* Under the cool shade of a sycamore
> I thought to close mine eyes some half an hour,
> When lo! to interrupt my purpos'd rest,
> Toward that shade I might behold addrest
> The king and his companions: warily
> I stole into a neighbor thicket by,
> And overheard what you shall overhear;—

Editors of *The Tempest* since the *Variorum* add nothing to the solution of the problem. Quite consistently, they endorse Scottish broom, *Cytisus Scoparius,* as the only meaning of *broom* in *broom-groves,* or tacitly do so by not entering *broom-groves* in notes or glossary.

So M. R. Ridley in Britain, editor of *The New Temple Shakespeare,* and special editor of *The Tempest* (1935); and Kittredge in America: *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (1936), and *The Tempest* (1939).

An escape explanation is offered by F. G. Savage[1]:

> "Although there is no question in regard to the common wild Broom being the plant referred to by the poet, some people very much doubt if Broom could ever attain to the dimensions of a grove . . . to me there is no doubt about it . . . [near] Bearley . . . [are] fine old plants" [Note: *plants;* not *trees.*] "These, with a dense undergrowth . . . of rough herbage, bushes, briers, and brambles, may fairly be described as a 'Broom grove,' being capable of 'shadowing' many 'love-lorn' bachelors."

Broom is defined by the dictionaries, as N.E.D.[2] and M.-W.; and by horticultural authors, as L. H. Bailey and Norman Taylor, a *shrub Cytisus scoparius* (Scottish, or British, broom) and its allied genus, *Genista,* being best known. This being established, Savage has already been answered by Lettsom,[3] above (*q.v.*). A man might hide in a thicket such as Savage describes; but that use by no means warrants a *thicket's* being called a *grove.*

Thus the most recent eminent editors of *The Tempest*—American and British—, by tacit consent, interpret *broom* in *broom-groves* as Scottish, or British, *broom,* thus ignoring the problem presented: how can this *broom,* a shrub, growing only "two and a half or three feet tall," form a grove or cast a "shadow" to afford seclusion to "the dismissëd bachelor"?

Strange to say, an approach to a solution through the etymology of *broom* appears never to have occurred to any of the editors of *The Tempest.*

What is the fundamental, the root meaning of broom?

Brockhaus[4]: Brom beere [ahd. bramo "Dornstrauch"]. This is supported by Pinloche[5]: *Brâme, Dornstrauch; Brombeere, Beere des Dornstrauch.*

Modern German *Brombeere,* English *blackberry,* translated literally is *thornberry; Brom,* as noun, *thorn, brier, bramble;* as adjective—independent or in compound—*thorny, briery,* or *brambly,* as in *bramblebush.*

Skeat[6] substantiates this etymology. First, however, he enters: *"Broom,* the name of a plant; hence, a besom (E) made from the twigs of it. M.E. *brom, broom,* the plant; Wyclif . . . A.S. *brōm, broom: Gloss.* to *Cockaynés Leechdoms.* Here, the 'plant' is *Cytisus Scoparius,* the Scottish, or British, *broom,* from the twigs of which brooms are in fact made, and from which the later name of that implement was derived."

Skeat continues: "G. *brom,* in *brom-beere,* a brambleberry, Teut. type **braemoz.* Broom and bramble are closely related. Bramble . . . (E.) M. E. brembil, Wyclif . . . A.S. *bremel, brembel: Gloss.* [as above] . . . The second *b* is excrescent, and the vowel shortened . . . Teut. type *braemiloz,* dimin. of Teut. type **braemoz* . . . G. *brombeerestrauch, bramble-bush.* Here G. *brom* answers to O.H.G. *brāma,* a bramble." Merriam-Webster defines *bramblebush:* "The bramble or a thicket of brambles." Forms parallel to German forms occur in other West-Germanic languages.

To complete the discussion, a rapid review of O.E. and M.E. forms is necessary. After tracing the derivation of *Broom*—"O.E. *brōm* (from W.Ger. **bráma*)"—N.E.D.[7] adds: "The derivation of the O.Teut. stem *braem* is uncertain, but the earliest sense of the various forms appears to be 'thorn shrub,' whence 'bramble' . . . Broom . . .: A shrub . . . abundant on sandy banks, pastures, and heaths in Britain . . . Also the genus to which this belongs . . . *Cytisus Scoparius,* and the allied genus, *Genista,* including the White Broom and the Giant, or Irish, Broom cultivated in gardens."

N. E. D. is supported by *The Century Dictionary* and *Cyclopedia*[8]: *"Cytisus scoparius* (broom) is an extremely common shrub on uncultivated grounds, heaths, etc. of most parts of Great Britain. Some exotic species are common garden and shrubbery plants."

By these authorities Scottish, or British, *broom—Cytisus scoparius*—grows on "sandy banks," "uncultivated ground," "pastures," "heaths": definitely, not in groves; the tall species, genus *Genista,* are *exotics,* cultivated in *gardens and shrubberies.*

In defining *breme,* umlaut form of *brōme,* N.E.D. continues: "Breme . . . obs. exc. poetic and dial . . . OE. *braeme, breme: . . .*

I. Celebrated, brilliant, famous; clear, loud, distinct.

II. Fierce, raging, rough, rugged.

The origin of Branch II, *which did not exist in O.E.,* and was more decidedly northern in M.E. use, *is at present unexplained."* [Italics mine.] Skeat, note 10 above, cites A.S. *brōm,* broom and gives A.S. *bremel, brembil,* umlaut forms from *broom,* warranting A.S. *breme* of Branch II.

Chaucer[9]—M. E.; not "northern":

(1) "He was war of Arcite and Palamon.
That foughten *breme,* as it were bores two."

Spenser[10]:

"Comes the *breme* Winter with chamfred browes,
. . . . . .
Drerily shooting his stormy *darte,*"—[Italics mine]

Shakspere's *broome-groves* is surprisingly forecast by Chaucer in "The Reeve's Tale," l. 4286:

"Help! hooly croys of Brome-holm," she seyde.
In manus tuas! Lord, to the I calle!"

M.E. *brome* (braam), thorny; by synecdoche, cruel, causing intense pain.

M.E. *holm* (O.E. *holen,* holly), the holm oak; prickly leaves, wood excessively hard; hence, by implication, inflicting the greater torture.

From *broom-tree,* thorny tree, not too remote is the conception of broom-grove: . . . a grove having in it *coverts, thickets,* of "brambles and embracing bushes" necessary for the seclusion of dissmissèd lovers.

The problem of the meaning Shakspere intended to convey in *"broom-groves* which the dismissèd bachelor loves" is, in *The Tempest,* stated generally: any dismissèd bachelor, or "all in like case." The meaning is indicated by two specific instances in earlier plays. Boyet, though not a dismissèd bachelor, is deeply involved in love affairs, seeking seclusion, is "under the cool shade of a sycamore," when, to avoid a group coming upon him, he "steals into a neighbor thicket by." An identical instance is given in Romeo, a bachelor cruelly "dismissed" by Rosaline, who also seeks seclusion in "a grove of sycamores," where, threatened by intrusion, "he steals into a covert of the grove."

Incidentally, the poet describes in a different connexion a *thicket,* which may become a *covert,* composed of *broom* in its strictly etymological meaning, thorn-bush; bramble; bramble-bush; a brake of brambles: thus excluding the possibility of identifying that thicket with Scottish broom or any related species, or species of other genera:

> "The thorny brambles and embracing bushes,
> As fearful of him, part, . . ." *Venus and Adonis,* l. 629f.

Conclusion: Groves of sycamores, or of other kind or kinds of trees, having within them, or along their borders, *thickets* of "thorny brambles and embracing bushes" which may be used as *coverts*—these are Shakspere's broom-groves.

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[1]F. G. Savage: *The Flora and Folk Lore of Shakespeare,* London, 1923; Stratford-on-Avon, 1938.

[2]Cf. N.E.D.; and *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia,* Notes, 11 and 12, below.

[3]Cf. Lettsom.

[4]Brockhaus: *Der Neue Brockhaus.* Leipzig, 1938.

[5]Pinloche, A: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache,* Wein: Larousse Verlag. Zweite Auflage.

[6]W. W. Skeat; *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language.* Oxford, 1924. Also: A concise Form, Fourth Edition, New York, 1896.

[7]James A. H. Murray, Editor: *A New English Dictionary.* Oxford, 1888.

[8]The Century Company: *The Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia.* New York, 1889-1901; 1909-1910.

[9]F. N. Robinson: *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer.* Boston . . . 1933:

(1) "The Knight's Tale," 11. 1698f.

(2) "The Reeve's Tale," 11. 4286f.

(3) P. 791: "Rood of Bromeholm," was brought from the East to Norfolk. . . . See Skeat's note to *Piers Plowman* V, v. 231."

(4) Op. cit. Oxford. 1906: account of this finding of the true cross by St. Helena . . . and of "The Rode of Brome-holm" brought to Norfolk in 1224.

(5) A. W. Pollard, M. H. Siddell, and others: *The Works of Chaucer,* p. 59: "*Brome-holm* was a Norfolk Priory."

[10]Herford, Editor: *Shepheards Calendar,* by *Edmund Spenser.* London, 1921. "Februarie," 11. 44, 46.

A NOTE ON THE "LATE ECLIPSES" IN *KING LEAR*

By JOHNSTONE PARR

SEVERAL critics who believe the well-known passage on the "late eclipses" in *King Lear* (I, ii. 98 ff.) to be a topical allusion have attempted to turn the celestial universe virtually upside down to discover the actual date of occurrence of the "late eclipses" referred to, and thereby to establish more precisely the date of composition of the play.[1] Almost all of these commentators, however, have apparently ignored the fact that in determining the actual phenomena most likely referred to by Shakspere one should ascertain not only the date and magnitude of the eclipses visible in London but also the published astrological prognostications regarding them—especially since Edmund refers explicitly to "a prediction I *read* this other day . . . and the effects he *writes* of." Unfortunately, almost all of these astrological prognostications—to be distinguished from the common almanacs—are now not extant. There can be little doubt, however, that a series of alarming astrological prognostications—similar to those in 1583 and 1588[2]—were issued in London between 1600 and 1605 regarding the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter (in 1603) and the unusual number of solar and lunar eclipses during the period. Yet only one scholar, Dr. G. B. Harrison, has cited a seventeenth-century prognostication which can be juxtaposed with Shakspere's passage in *King Lear*.[3] I wish to bring to light an apparently hitherto unknown astrological pamphlet published in London in 1604 which has some bearing upon the passage in *King Lear*.

In this little booklet by Himbert de Billy entitled *Certaine Wonderful Predictions for seven yeeres ensuing, shewing the Strange and Wonderful Comets and Meteors, beginning this present yeere 1604*,[4] Englishmen could have found a somewhat alarming account of the celestial manifestations of the time. Billy presages for 1605 as follows:

> ". . . the Celestial figure for this yeare . . . foretells many evils, and discommodities to happen in the world: . . . so many great

> Eclipses (especially of the Sunne) do fall in so fewe yeeres, whereby greevous and most wretched accidents are presaged. Perhaps these be the latter days, when as all piety and charity shal waxe colde, truth and justice shal be oppressed: and all things else shall be mixed, disturbed, and turned upside down, and the forepart set behinde by torments and seditions: and finally nothing else shall be expected, but spoyle and ruine of the common society. . . .
>
> This yeere the Moone shall be twice Eclipsed, and the Sunne once. The first Eclipse of the Moone . . . on the 23 day of March . . . signifies famine and greevous sicknesses and pestilences, tempestuous and hurtfull windes: . . .
>
> The second Eclipse of the Moone . . . the 17 day of September . . . signifies change of Lawes, Institutions and Sects: and . . . the self-same things which are mentioned in the yeere 1603 the 14 day of May: . . . [Turning back to the prognostication for 1603, we find: . . . the Eclipse of the xiiii of May, . . . proclaymes death unto Kings, Princes, and Ecclesiastical persons, . . . death unto Cattell, the exile of a great King or Prince, imprisonments or death, hate betweene the Commons and the greater sort, mutuail hates and differences, motions of great Oathes and horrible warres, manslaughters, fire, theevery, repines, and depopulations: untimely birthes, Agues, Pestilences, hot infirmities, death and barrennesse of fruits, and notable mutations . . . thefts and robberies].
>
> The Sun likewise shall be Eclipsed on the second of October, . . . to foreshew the death of some great King or Prince, seditions, warres, famine, and Pestilence . . . greevous sicknesses, diseases, . . . tempestuous and most pernitious windes:"[5]

Obviously one should not search for verbal parallels in Shakspere's passage and the prognostications of the time. Since every one of Edmund's and Gloster's "effects" of the "late eclipses" occurs subsequently *in the play,* it would be a remarkable coincidence indeed if exact parallels should be found in any contemporary astrological pamphlet. But there is hardly any doubt that Shakspere carefully adopted a *pattern* from such ephemeral literature; and by making the "effects" suit his plot, fashioned the astrologer's material into something quite his own. The conversation in *Lear* concerning the "late eclipses" stands out as incomparable literary dialogue as well as a harbinger of the subsequent action of the play; it must have appeared especially subtle and effective in being concerned with an actual topic of the times in which many people were vitally interested and concerning which some doubtless had grave misgivings. Furthermore, the argument that "these late eclipses" shows

Lear to have been written after the eclipses of September and October, 1605, is somewhat weakened when we consider what prognostications concerning them were on the London bookstalls in 1604 or earlier.

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[1]*Cf.* the numerous articles in the *London Times Literary Supplement* (1933), pp. 856, 878, 896, 909; (1934), p. 12. *Cf.* also R. H. Darby, "Astrology in Shakespeare's *Lear*," *English Studies*, XX 1938), 250-257; H. H. Furness, *A Variorum Edition of King Lear*, pp. 51-56, 378-381; and Professor Kittredge's recent edition, in which the allusion is used to determine the date of the play.

[2]*Cf.* Carroll Camden, "Elizabethan Almanacs and Prognostications," *The Library*, XII (1931), 84-108, 194-207 (esp. 194-203).

[3]*TLS* (1933), p. 856. Dr. Harrison cites an almanac-maker's "Epistle" dated "London, February 11, 1605[-06]" as "one possible source of this passage in *King Lear*."

[4]Although the title-page gives the publication as "London, 1604," the book contains a prognostication for 1603, indicating that it was originally printed (certainly written) before 1604. I cite the Folger Shakespeare Library copy.

[5]*Ibid.*, pp. 8-12, 3-4.